2: Jones-Jackson L-5 (1973-1986) 1987
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina

161 Table 3. Population Projection for Charleston County

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
Edisto Island	1,374	1,170	1,120	1,110	1,150	1,190
James Island	24,197	25,944	29,280	33,064	36,890	40,450
Johns Island	7,530	8,853	10,483	12,016	13,469	14,999
McClellanville*	4,094	3,867	3,814	3,905	3,994	4,125
Wadmalaw Island	2,024	1,900	2,150	2,250	2,450	2,650

Source: BCD Council of Governments *Regional Housing Market Analysis*, 1979, p. 21.
*McClellanville is not a Sea Island. It is included here because it is a coastal city that has always had a concentration of African-Americans, most of whom do speak a variety of Gullah.

563 Johns, Kiawah, and Seabrook, have undergone significant population
161 changes in the recent past (see Table 3).

Economy

•433 In the past, the Sea Islanders depended on agriculture and their
241 natural environment for survival. Without a doubt, the new job oppor-
(178) tunities brought to some of the islands by industry and commerce will
affect this pattern. In fact, current census data indicate that farming is
already being abandoned in exchange for more lucrative livelihoods.
(464) By 1970 only 10 percent of the people on Johns Island and 15 percent
of those on Wadmalaw were farmers. The figures for farm laborers
were 13.4 percent on Johns, 20.8 percent on Wadmalaw. The Kiawah
464 Island Company painted a glowing picture of the employment oppor-
177 tunities that the resort could offer to area residents, estimating that
"operating employment for the resort would range from 476 to 511 in
1976, increase yearly to a range of 1,227 to 1,473 by 1980, and climb
to an incredible 4,034 to 4,458 jobs by 1990." Although the com-
pany's figures have proved thus far to be somewhat optimistic, the
resort development has indeed provided jobs for Sea Islanders:

> On Kiawah Island, blacks from Johns, Wadmalaw, and other areas have recently received both construction and operations jobs, although the skill levels these jobs involve are either fairly high or fairly low. Kiawah estimates, for example, that in August of 1976

4: Carawan & Carawan B,Z-5 (1959-1988) 1989
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South Carolina
Johns Island

good deal. He founded the Committee on Better Racial Assurance (COBRA), a multi-issue community organization in Charleston also serving the sea islands. He has been chairman of the Charleston County Democratic party. He ran for state senate and received support in both the black and white communities. He is the owner of WPAL, a vital radio station in Charleston that consistently addresses social issues as well as responds to the musical tastes of the community. He was the principal mediator in the major civil rights campaign of the Charleston area—a strike of hospital workers in the late 1960s.

The job situation on Johns Island has improved slightly. In the 1960s all young people who finished high school left the area to find work. Now, with improved transportation, it is possible for them to work in Charleston and still live on the island. The resort developments and the new small businesses offer some employment, but farming, long a mainstay in the island economy, is steadily declining. Farmland is now the prime target of developers. But the people who have stayed on Johns Island have held onto a firm determination to live in their traditional community, and many of their hopes and dreams are still in place.

Development on Johns Island has taken two forms. Tourist development, spreading rapidly all along the coastal islands south of Washington, D.C., is a threat to the indigenous population on Johns Island. Kiawah and Seabrook, accessible only by driving across Johns Island, are full-fledged resort communities with condominiums, hotels and inns, shops and boutiques, and large private homes. Both are entered by passing through a security checkpoint. Viewed initially as offering some economic and social benefits to island residents, both have been disappointing, catering to wealthy visitors from outside the region and offering only menial and limited employment. Wadmalaw Island, just across the Esau Jenkins Memorial Bridge from Johns Island, is in the throws of plans for development. An island committee made up of black and white landowners has been meeting regularly to design their own development plan that may

000 skilled in bad weather. The best of the inhabitable land
423 has been owned by two or three black families since the last
half of the nineteenth century. Most of the present inhabi-
602 tants are related to each other, at least distantly. A few
177 white sportsmen have established hunting lodges on the unin-
habited portions of the island, and a land development company
has been draining some marshes in order to build waterfront
resort homes. At the time of the present study, however, all
101 people present on a daily basis on the island were members
186 of the black community. The island is well-known to residents
of Georgetown County, even though few have visited it. It
is generally considered to be a mysterious and somewhat back-
ward place. High school students tell of being teased about
coming from the island and being looked upon as somehow dif-
ferent and perhaps unsophisticated. Teachers in mainland
schools note the close friendships between island children
and the in-group humor characteristic of them; some teachers
consider their language distinctive, but others do not.

243 Historically, the economy of the island was based
• 433 upon rice. Once at least nine major plantations flourished
[464] there, worked and probably managed largely by black labor.
Few of the white owners made permanent homes on the island,
probably no more than two families at any one time. The
[423] majority of the land remains in the hands of white individual
owners or corporations, but they remain absentee owners.
Long after rice had ceased to be a major factor in the rest

243 of the county's economy, it was still cultivated on the river
433 island for the consumption of its inhabitants, with some surplus sold for cash. Two men in their eighties could describe in detail each phase of the long growing season, and the utensils used in processing the ripened grain. During the
[464] lifetimes of these men, however, the island made the transition from a subsistence farming economy to one based on
464 laboring jobs held in mainland communities. Typically, young men went to live in nearby towns for periods ranging from two weeks to several years, working at jobs in lumber mills, in shipyards, on ocean-going vessels, and even in New York factories. Other men and women took laboring jobs on farms
243 and plantations closer to the island. The rice crop was still cultivated during this transition period, but by the thirties the cultivation was essentially under the supervision of one older man, a preacher and permanent resident of
243 the island. At times when intensive heavy labor was needed
464 for the crop, many of those who were working off the island returned to help in the harvest. With increasing job opportunities associated with World War II and the availability of motorized transportation, making the boat trip across the water a matter of minutes rather than hours, rice cultivation came to an end. Three successive years of disastrous flood tides in the forties finished the transition period.

464 Today most families have at least two members who
484 commute daily to jobs on the mainland. Many of the middle-

505 weekly to bring persons to the mainland. Most inhabitants
(491) over forty remember these Saturday ferry trips to Charleston or to other islands to buy and sell their produce, arts and crafts.

• 433 Historically, the islanders were self reliant. Rice, indigo, and long staple cotton were resources that flourished well on the fertile soil, and brought substantial prices on the market. The ocean provided an abundant supply of
(226) crab, fish and shrimp, and the children learned the art of casting and netting at a very early age. Because most of
823 the islanders were fishermen, the ocean provided a topic
521 of interest and often evoked many natural responses ranging from earliest childhood encouters to near death feats.

132 Few Europeans inhabited the islands because of the heat
164 and the threat of malaria. According to Nichols (1976:20),
177
136

> an important factor in the low numbers of Europeans was their susceptibility to the malaria-bearing mosquito which thrived in the fresh-water swamplands. During the summer months and fall, which consituted the malaria season, the landowners moved to homes on the ocean or further inland. West Africans, on the other hand, had a genetic tolerance for the malaria parasite.

175 During the period from 1730 to 1840, Blacks
161 outnumbered Whites by a substantial margin. For example, in 1800 there were 2,150 Whites and 12,400 Blacks in Georgetown County. By 1840, the county contained 2,200 Whites and 18,000 Blacks (Jackson et al. 1974:33). Thus a geographical isolation, social and economic independence, and marginal contact with speakers of
197 English outside the Creole community nurtured an environ-
177

9: Parrish B-4,5 (ca.1916-1941) 1942
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
Georgia
St. Simon's Island

533 567 Quarterman told me that when the Negroes "suspicioned" someone was tell'ing tales to the driver to get one of them a whipping, they would sing a song like the following while at work in the field:

[539]

O Judyas he wuz a 'ceitful man
He went an' betray a mos' innocen' man.
Fo' thirty pieces a silver dat it wuz done
He went in de woods an' e' self he hung.

793 533 A Negro "stump-knocker"—as itinerant preachers without a regular charge used to be called—frankly told me he wasn't much on preaching, but when it came to singing he always got his people—and a meal. Another preacher of this class, with a remarkable flow of rhythmic words and a fine grasp of the dramatic build-up—not necessarily connected with ideas—boasted to me of his ability to get his congregation "goin'."

FIVE FINGERS IN THE BOLL

248 533 When I asked Josephine what the words "five fingers in the boll" meant, she explained that in the shade at the bottom of the stalk of cotton the bolls are likely to be rotten; they come off in the hand, and "y'u can't make any time grabbin' de cotton out uv 'em." "Fingers" are the compartments holding the white fiber. The song has reference to the variety that contains five in a boll, but I am told that some have three, and others four. I confess I never noticed how many there were.

533 539

Way down in the bottom—whah the cotton boll's a rotten
Won' get my hundud[20] all day
Way down in the bottom—whah the cotton boll's a rotten
Won' get my hundud all day.
Befo'e I'll be beated—befo'e I'll be cheated
I'll leave five finguhs in the boll
Befo'e I'll be beated—befo'e I'll be cheated
I'll leave five finguhs in the boll.
Black man beat me—white man cheat me
Won' get my hundud all day
Black man beat me—white man cheat me
Won' get my hundud all day.

[433] [248] [20] Ninety pounds of cotton was looked upon as the least a hand should pick in a day.

11: Johnson H-4,5 (no date) 1930
(1525-ca. 1880)
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
St. Helena Island

these supplies,[33] and the drivers four suits a year, instead of the usual two suits received by field hands.

Roper estimated that the average yearly cost of clothing was $6.12 a slave as follows: six yards of woolens at 55 cents a yard, six yards of summer homespun at 10 cents a yard, a pair of shoes at 90 cents, a hat, cap, or handkerchief at 25 cents, a blanket every three years at $4 a blanket, and needles, thread, buttons, and trimmings at 24 cents a year.[34] This estimate brought the average cost of food and clothing to $17.64 a slave.[35]

Upon adding to this estimate the expense of providing a house, medical care, and incidentals, one finds that the cost to the master amounted to a little less than $50. When it is remembered that two or more slaves were fed and clothed for every taskable hand, it will be seen that the cost per hand ran between $75 and $100 a year, equivalent to wages of about $7 or $8 a month. In 1860 a day laborer was receiving in South Carolina 82 cents a day without board and a farm hand $11.37 a month with board, only a few dollars more than it cost a planter to maintain each taskable hand.[36] When it is considered that slaves, unskilled and often poorly supervised, cultivated only six acres to the hand, it will be seen that the plantation operated not only at a low wage level, but also at a low level of efficiency.

The type of houses provided for the slaves varied with the plantation management, as did every other phase of the plantation routine. When Timothy Ford, of Morris

[33] MS in Port Royal Correspondence.
[34] Roper, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
[35] Phillips, *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 135. Louis Manigault, of Argyle Island, estimated that food and clothing for 1838 cost him about $21 a slave.
[36] *U. S. Census of Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics*, 1860, p. 512.

11: Johnson H-4,5 (no date) 1930
(1525-ca. 1880)
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St. Helena Island

S. Philbrick, a prosperous engineer and architect who had left his home in Brookline, Massachusetts, to serve without remuneration in this social experiment, contributing himself $1,000 to the cause.[22] The superintendents generally had five or six plantations in charge, and, sometimes, with the assistance of a teacher, had as many as 500 Negroes to supervise. The superintendents found their laborers in need of clothes and implements, for the battle of Port Royal had occurred a few weeks before the customary time to issue winter clothes, and hoes were never given out until February. Moreover, the planting season had already advanced six weeks before the superintendents assumed charge of their respective plantations. In addition to these handicaps, they had to learn something about the methods of agriculture which they were supposed to oversee.

In every case the superintendent found it necessary to lean heavily upon the plantation driver for information and assistance and to follow the system of plantation management already established by the former owners. The driver was instructed to go about his accustomed work, stake off each hand's task as before, and manage the details of planting. The Negroes had already begun putting their own patches into corn, but they were reluctant to plant cotton, and it took much artful persuasion to induce them to do so. Thus, while the provision crop on St. Helena for 1862 was about the same as in ante-bellum times, the cotton crop fell far short. The cotton crops from both St. Helena and Ladies islands amounted to only $40,000.[23]

[22] *Letters from Port Royal*, p. 181. [23] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

11: Johnson H-4,5 (no date) 1930
(1525-ca. 1880)
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
St. Helena Island

an estate which had numbered 1,284 acres.[8] All but Edgar W. Fripp after a few years sold their land in small plots to Negroes. Fripp, a minor at the time of the war, retained his holding until recently when he sold it for a hunting preserve.

The prosperity in which the freedmen of Port Royal found themselves in 1865 was largely delusive, for it was the prosperity of war times. The presence of the soldiers afforded a ready market for whatever the Negroes had to sell; the presence of the camps offered ready work at high wages for those who wanted it; the fostering care of the Freedman's Bureau kept them from starvation in time of necessity. The magnificent bounty of $300 which "Government" offered all volunteers led many a St. Helena youth to enter the army. The bounty money he used to buy ten acres of land and the equipment for his "plantation," keeping out $100, perhaps, to "pleasure" himself. Whenever it was possible to peddle chickens, fish, and garden truck to the soldiers, the freedmen never raised cotton, for they got high prices for their wares.

All who had bought land by the close of the war, had for the most part erected their own cabins and equipped them with a few pieces of cheap furniture, beds, tables, and chairs. They now must have plates and knives and forks. They must have both a work suit and a "Sunday best," and the cloth must be of the finest. They must have carts, buggies, and horses. Indeed, their purchases at the trade stores were so liberal that the military authorities several times interfered to prevent what they consid-

[8] Direct Tax Case, No. 17, 498 filed in Court of Claims March 25, 1892; No. 17, 366 filed Feb. 6, 1892.